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Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest
the country itself and because he had undertaken preliminary research on it. It
must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differ-
entiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various re-
ligious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively
acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any
nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and
urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East
country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on
as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many
city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle
East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other
social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the
most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description
as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major
themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a
theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed
phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descrip-
tive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way
the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual
in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a
note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's sugges-
tion (1935, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "eco-
nomics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when
the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own
culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the func-
tionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interde-
pendent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclu-
sive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in
questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Afif Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of
three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944).
These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does
not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in
Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately
covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed
under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear.
Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be.
The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition
and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is
given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

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The living pattern of the summer residents generally amounts to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1940. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Cooke, 1952, pp. 131–32). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as contrasted with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jurkat who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 70 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jurkat, 1944, p. 302).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ḥilwi than it is in the village proper, partly because Ḥilwi is better located from the point of view of rapid communications with the outside. Ḥilwi's population is as follows: resident, 38; summer, 41; absent, 3; emigrated, 2; total 84. None of its eleven households is wholly resident, and three of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 5 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the series of totals. The number of males far exceeds that of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 44. The discrepancy in sex ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 76 heads of household does not tally with

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after World War I. It will be remembered that it has only been during this period that efficient long-distance communications and residence away from the village on a large scale (giving opportunity to meet outsiders) have developed. The table also shows how the tendency is steadily increasing, though of course the percentage for 1950–52 is not comparable to those for entire decades.

About half of those now married to outsiders are women, and in only a few cases have the husbands of such women settled in Munqif (thereby establishing affiliate families). In other words, the present trend to exogamy is removing a large number of women from the village, and the children of these women belong to their fathers' families and villages, not to Munqif. The marriage of women to outsiders means a real loss to the village. One might, therefore, expect the villagers to prevent it. There is evidence that the phenomenon is regretted and some of the expressed opinions about it have already been noted. However, most of the husbands in these cases appear to be young men of reasonably good prospects who are working in the city, not in their natal villages. The parents of the girls seem to recognize that the chances are good that their daughters will be as well cared for by the outsiders as they would be by local husbands. Besides, if it came to an economic show-down, the parents in most cases would be unable to deliver any ultimatum to their self-supporting daughters. The whole trend is quite clearly correlated with the current acculturative process, wherein the city with its material conveniences has a particular appeal to the young housewife. And a girl's marriage to an outsider *living in the city* is quite a different matter from her moving to his village where she would remain a social outsider for some years.

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TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF ALL TYPES, CONTRACTED 1860–1952

DATE	ENDOGAMOUS		EXOGAMOUS			TOTAL ENDOG.	TOTAL EXOG.	% EXOG.
	VILLAGE	QUSAI	GREEK ORTH.	OTHER CHRISTIAN	MUSLIM			
1860–1869 *	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	0.0
1870–1879 *	7	3	—	—	—	10	—	0.0
1880–1889 *	17	4	—	—	—	21	—	0.0
1890–1899	21	3	1	—	—	24	1	4.0
1900–1909	9	4	1	—	—	13	1	7.0
1910–1919	7	0	—	1	—	7	1	12.5
1920–1929	23	6	2	1	—	29	3	9.0
1930–1939	22	3	8	4	—	25	12	33.0
1940–1949	14	3	3	5	3	17	11	39.0
1950–1952	1	1	—	5	—	2	5	71.0
Total	124	27	15	16	3	151	34	18.4

* Figures for these decades are fragmentary.

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VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed: (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) outspoken preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Munsifi necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both.

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to ask about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They took the stones from the ground and put them here, so they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Now we are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well.

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to work the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a few easy piasters. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people settle down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we need to bring water to the village. Not many can live on the land here now because the land is so poor, because it needs water.

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face: educational emphasis leading away from village life and its satisfactions over and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type of education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who live in the village all the time." But he immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice the concern of many young fathers

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who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Mazraʿ in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perh. ps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness & present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1948, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Mazraʿ would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schurger, 1952a, p. 51.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Mazraʿ and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

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[Munsif]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schurgar, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munsif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–40, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munsifis could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1940, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munsif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an examination of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

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The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munqif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Woolerse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Butzi say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munqifin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munqifin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

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6211 178 167 458 scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

6211 178 Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

6211 178 162 4614 *Economics.* The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

6211 178 369 The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

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who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

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6211 178 seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

6211 178 182 On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

6211 582 178 The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

6211 178 369 In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation. And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education—and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true—he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

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selves with other groups *in addition* to the traditional ones, groups which are concerned with the application of sober study and rational action to problems of general concern. Perhaps the temptation of reacting in terms of emotionally charged scapegoats could thereby be lessened and a more satisfying urban life achieved.

Al-Munsif is just one Lebanese village out of many hundreds. It is probably unusual in the high educational level of its members, but in other respects it is not significantly different. It is well known that a very large number of urban dwellers in Lebanon (and elsewhere in the Middle East) were not born and bred in the city but in small villages. Superficially, the people who are encountered in offices, shops, and classrooms often appear to be thoroughly oriented in the heavily Westernized life of the city. It is usually apprehended, however, that there is a good deal more that lies beneath the surface and is related to the more traditional ways of life. It is not sufficient to dismiss this matter by making vague statements about East meeting West and Old meeting New. Rather, the situation must be studied and described in specific detail in a number of different cases. This paper presents some of the conclusions of one such case study. There are others, but there should be many more, by a variety of researchers, for only on that basis can a really effective understanding be reached.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

Afif I. Tannous

369 THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

369 The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments — the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village — 6211 which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

113 [1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 5-17.

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114 v AFIF I. TANNOUS, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural organization of the Arab peoples, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report* of the United States — Lebanon Agricultural Mission, of which he was a member.

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Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon, it is the agricultural village that is paramount. The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose ships have sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant community has always been backed by the rural community of the Mountain.

In few other countries do we find the village-community type of human settlement so firmly established and so influential in the development of national life as in Lebanon. The village has existed continuously there since ancient times. Despite great upheavals, the farmer of Lebanon has patiently and persistently cultivated the soil, produced his crops, and raised his livestock. He has found in the rugged mountains a refuge from persecution and oppression. He has adapted himself efficiently to the difficult terrain, blasting the rocks and terracing the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vines, and grains. Over many centuries of adjustment to his peculiar physical and societal environment, he has succeeded in developing a clearly defined and firmly established way of life. He stands at present as the main pillar of national life in the mountains of Lebanon, the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage.

In appraising the significance of the village community in the life of present-day Lebanon, one can readily point out three major contributions. The first of these is biological: the replenishment and revitalization of the population in general, and of the urban population in particular. A study of the development of Lebanon over the past half century reveals clearly that rural areas have been mainly responsible for the building up of the flourishing urban or partly urban centers of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, and Zahleh. They have maintained a high birth rate, true to the trend prevailing in all rural areas of the Middle East. Due to a healthful climate and relatively high standards of sanitation, infant mortality has been lower in Lebanon than in the other countries of the Middle East. The result has been a constant stream of vigorous emigrants leaving the villages for urban centers.

Some fifty years ago this population overflow produced such pressure on the limited land and technological resources of

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

17; Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

national economy. They produce most of the food consumed by the country, as well as raw materials for industries and some surplus products for export. In fact, agricultural items are Lebanon's principal exports. Agriculture is also destined to play an even greater role in the future. At present the area under cultivation amounts to 640,000 acres, including less than 100,000 acres under irrigation. The crop land can at least be doubled, mainly by means of expanded irrigation. The abundant water resource could be much more efficiently utilized than it now is for increasing crop production, for the generation of power, and for household uses. There are good possibilities for the development of such agricultural and cottage industries as canning, dairying, cold storage for fruit, tanning, and handicrafts. Furthermore, production can be materially increased by the application of improved methods of cultivation. In other words, the village folk of Lebanon are in a position to make an even greater contribution to the national economy than they now do, provided they are given the necessary technical training and expert guidance.

In the third place, the rural community has been a main contributor to the cultural development of Lebanon. By culture here is not meant the conventional fine arts or those items of refinement in behavior that are shared by the few. We mean rather the pattern of living that is characteristic of Lebanon as a whole. We find here certain distinctive features, many of which can be traced directly to their origin in the village community. It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centers and thence into rural areas. These influences, however, together with those that have originated in urban centers, have not superseded the main body of culture, which remains predominantly rural. Family solidarity, group loyalty, individual initiative and enterprise, co-operativeness, community consciousness, a democratic way of living involving basic equality, and folk poetry are outstanding examples.

Finally, mention should be made of the significant leadership, in the various walks of life, that has been produced by the Lebanese village. The majority of leaders in politics, education, medicine, law, business enterprise, literature, and the other pro-

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

fessions, although they flourish in urban centers, have either had a direct rural upbringing or are but one generation removed from it.

II

Nearly all farmers of Lebanon live in villages, not on isolated farmsteads. This is the prevailing pattern of the Middle East and of most the Old World. In some parts of Europe and in most of the United States farmers live in relative isolation, each on his own land. These two different patterns have contributed to marked differences in the way of life among farming folk.

The typical Lebanese farming settlement consists, in the first place, of the village proper. This is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, stand close to one another. Sometimes there is room between them for small gardens or orchards. Usually the center of this nucleated structure is the church or the mosque. In the adjoining open space, the *saha,* the people assemble to celebrate, exchange news, or hold a market. Dwellings stretch from this center in various directions. Usually, sections of the village are differentiated along kinship-group lines. Another important center is the well, or spring, in the village proper or just outside it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, vineyards, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. During the greater part of the year, the farmers and their animals take a daily trip, going to the fields early in the morning and returning to the village at sunset.

The outstanding feature of this type of close settlement is that it provides the individual with a situation that is highly socializing. People know one another intimately. In many important situations they act as a group, yet leave room for individual initiative. A genuine feeling of neighborliness, or *jirah,* prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "cooperation." A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bika' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id,* is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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MAIN CROPS

	Area (000 hectares)		Production (000 metric tons)		Yields (100 kg. per ha.)
	1951	1952	1951	1952	1950
Wheat	61	70	43	50	7·5
Barley	15	20	14	27	11·2
Cotton	5	2	1	..	..
Tobacco	..	..	3	2	..
Citrus fruit	..	..	75	90	..
Grapes	21	..	80	..	..

.. = not available.

(Sources: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, *Exercice 1952* (Paris 1953); except figures for yields, cotton production, and area and production of grapes, all of which have been taken from FAO, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics*, 1952.)

There is enough water for land to be used more intensively than in Syria but there is not enough room to grow all that the country needs. Improved methods have increased the yield of cereals per acre, but Lebanon will always have to import wheat. The crop of grapes is nearly double the weight of the wheat harvest and Lebanon exports grapes, wine, and the best quality araq. The citrus exports are high but the growers have not yet established the same name for quality as have the Israelis. Melons, water-melons, apples, onions, and potatoes are also important crops and vegetables are exported as far as the oil towns of Kuwait and Dahran. Cotton and tobacco are also grown in small quantities.

The land is more evenly parcelled out amongst the people in Lebanon than in Syria but, despite the fact that there are many small holdings, there is a general shift from country to town, and Beirut and its immediate neighbourhood hold nearly half of the population. In the coastal regions of intensive cultivation small holdings predominate, while in the plain regions large estates worked by share-croppers are the most prevalent form of land tenure. Some estates owned by rich men are farmed under modern methods and equipment and there is less room for improvement or for expansion in agriculture than in Syria.

Industry

Relative to its size, Lebanon is one of the most industrialized countries in the Middle East area. It is probable that nearly 50,000 persons are so employed, of whom over half are factory workers. However, Lebanese industry has only partly recovered from the loss of the Syrian market and some industries had either to move to Syria or to curtail production. The biggest industries are electricity, which produced 130 million kwh. in 1951, and the Cheks cement factory south of Tripoli, which produced 303,000 tons of cement in 1951. Cotton weaving and

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country. 186 167

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents. 161 635 162 369

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south. 871 212 562 871 448 185 872 369

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Schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutions for advanced education are conducted almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit orders, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, autonomous institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 21.5 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 26.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.5 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to

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165 evade punishment by concealing the death
369 of unregistered infants detract from the
validity of the meager data available. Local
165 pediatricians believe that the mortality rate
in children up to 2 years of age averages
from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as
a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent,
or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45
per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of
165 the interior. In the more remote villages of
511 South Lebanon, the standards of living are
uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 2 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Social Economy

241 The economy of Lebanon is based upon
484 agriculture, but the country is in a more
167 favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from
241 emigrants living abroad. Although the
311 coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 3,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between recent estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved
653 methods of cultivation. Programs have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast
421 and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independ-
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sporadic cases of kala-azar. *P. papatasii* also transmits sandfly fever, which is endemic throughout this region. 136 164

Lice. The human lice, *Pediculus humanus corporis*, *P. humanus capitis* and *Phthirus pubis*, infest the inhabitants in some of the poorer urban and rural communities. *P. humanus corporis* is the vector in occasional outbreaks of louse-borne typhus and louse-borne relapsing fever. 164 136 369

Fleas. The human flea, *Pulex irritans*, and the cat and the dog fleas, *Ctenocephalides felis* and *C. canis*, are common. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, infests the domestic and the wild rodents, and is implicated in the transmission of sporadic cases of murine typhus and plague. *Nosophyllus fasciatus* is indigenous in Palestine, and probably occurs throughout the coastal area, where it is a potential vector of plague. 136 232 164

Bedbugs. The bedbug, *Cimex lectularius*, is an annoying pest in all sections of the country. 136

Ticks and Mites. Numerous species of ticks infest the livestock. The dog tick, *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, is widespread. It has been implicated in the transmission of cases of fièvre boutonneuse reported from Beirut. *Ornithodorus tholozani* is found in certain isolated localities, and is probably the vector in a few recognized cases of tick-borne relapsing fever. 136 232 164

The human itch mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, is widely distributed. It was exceptionally prevalent during the war years 1941-46. The grain itch mite, *Pediculoides ventricosus*, is plentiful in the grain-producing districts. It produces a troublesome rash when it attacks man. 136 752

Scorpions and Spiders. Species of *Buthus* and *Scorpio* are sometimes seen, particularly in the interior, but serious cases of scorpion sting apparently are unusual. The poisonous black spider, *Latrodectus tredecimguttatus*, is reported from Syria and Israel, and may exist in adjacent portions of Lebanon.

Reptiles. Poisonous snakes are relatively rare, but the vipers, *Vipera lebetina lebe-*

tina, *V. lebetina xanthina* and *V. palestina*, are encountered in some localities. 136 752

Rodents. The brown rat, *Rattus norvegicus*, is prevalent throughout the coastal area. *R. rattus alexandrinus* is present in small numbers in Beirut and the coast towns, but predominates in the inland villages. *R. rattus rattus* is also present. Mice are abundant under both urban and rural conditions. 136 369

Molluscs.* The fresh-water snail, *Bulinus truncatus* (— *B. contortus*), is found in a few localized areas—in the vicinity of Sidon, in the Nahr el Samer and the irrigation ditches connected with the springs of Ras el 'Ain, near Tyre, and in the Litany River, around the Qaraoun bridge in the Bekaa. It is the intermediate host of *Schistosoma haematobium*, and, although the infection apparently is not endemic in the indigenous population, it has recently been observed among Palestinian refugees in the Tyre region. 136 164 [167]

Plants. Little scientific information is available, but many of the trees, the grasses and the weeds which are known to produce allergic manifestations in susceptible individuals in other countries flourish in Lebanon. 137 752

The stocks of wheat sometimes contain seeds of *Cephalaria syriaca* or *Lolium temulentum*. Occasional cases of poisoning are traceable to the consumption of breads or *burghul* prepared from wheat flours thus contaminated.

The broad bean, *Vicia fava*, is widely used as a food, but it may cause toxic symptoms when eaten raw. Serious cases are relatively rare, but fatalities are reported almost annually among young children. In some cases, the chick-pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, a common fodder crop, is responsible for poisoning when it is used as a food. [165]

Food Sanitation

The sanitary inspection of restaurants and premises where food is prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal health 744

* See footnote, page 10.

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which are due to paradysentery strains, are prevalent. *Shigella paradysenteriae* (Flexner), *S. sonnei* (Sonne), *S. ambigua* (Schmitz) and *S. dysenteriae* (Shiga) are generally isolated in the bacteriologic laboratories of the American University hospital, usually in the order given. Enteritis and diarrhea are widespread, particularly among the children in the poorer quarters of the cities and in rural villages, where low standards of sanitation prevail. Bacillary dysentery and other forms of diarrheal disease are prominent throughout the summer months.

Cholera. Cholera has not been reported from Lebanon since 1902. When cholera occurred in Syria in 1947, subsequent to the epidemic in Egypt, quarantine regulations were enforced by the Lebanese health authorities, and immunization against cholera was made compulsory. Emergency immunization centers were established in all parts of the country.

Helminthiases. ANCYLOSTOMIASIS. Localized foci of hookworm infection, caused by *Ancylostoma duodenale*, exist in the agricultural districts of the littoral. The most heavily infected foci are found in the irrigated orange and banana growing areas north and south of Beirut, where the environmental conditions favor the development of the larvae. In a survey in 1931-32,[22] infection was present among 70 per cent of 198 villagers examined in the Rumeile region, near Sidon. The infection rates were consistently high in all age groups, and, although the degree of infection was relatively light, the accompanying anemia was often severe. Comparable examinations among 524 rural inhabitants in the Judeide-Antilyas district, near Beirut, showed infection in 35 per cent, with rates ranging from 11 per cent in children up to 6 years of age to 44 per cent at 6 to 16 years of age. Small numbers of cases are found in other farming communities in the coastal plain and in the interior. In the villages studied around Tyre and Tripoli, the infection rates did not exceed 5 per cent, while in 5 villages

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367 in the Bekaa they averaged less than 1 per cent.

164 167 Schistosomiasis. Schistosomiasis apparently is not endemic, but the infection has been demonstrated among Palestinian refugees living in camps near Tyre. In the examination of urine specimens from 15 boys, from 6 to 12 years of age, in a school [illegible] were found in 47 per cent. A second series of urine samples, taken a few months later from 23 refugee boys, from 7 to 14 years of age, revealed eggs in 14 per cent. All the boys came originally from the Haifa and the Acre regions in Palestine. The infection was still localized in 1951, as shown by the fact that urine specimens from 1,000 boys enrolled in different schools in the the same camp were completely negative for *S. haematobium*.[6] No evidence of infection has been found in the course of limited surveys among Lebanese children in the vicinity of Tyre, and the disease was formerly unknown in the local population.

165 167 The intermediate snail host, *Bulinus truncatus*, inhabits streams and irrigation canals near Tyre and Sidon, and has been collected from one focus in the middle reaches of the Litany River. It is feared that the disease may become established and spread in the irrigated districts of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon.

167 232 744 Taeniasis. Three outbreaks of trichinosis have been recorded—in 1894, 1939-40 and 1945. The second outbreak occurred in Beirut district, where most of the pig farms are concentrated. The number of recognized human cases was small, but in the examination of about 3,000 pigs on several farms in the neighborhood of the slaughterhouse, 15 to 26 per cent were found to be infected [132] with *Trichinella spiralis*. A high rate of infection was also discovered among rats trapped in the area. The mass slaughter of the pigs on the affected farms and the incineration of infected carcasses were ordered by the health authorities. In the 1945 outbreak, 34 human cases, with 2 deaths, were reported, all traceable to infected meat from

a single farm near Zahle. The rate of porcine infection probably totals less than 1 per cent under natural conditions. Pork is consumed only in Christian households, and human cases are seldom observed.

Other Helminth Infections. Infection with one or more species of intestinal worms is prevalent among both rural and urban [illegible], with the lowest infection rates in the cultivated areas of the coastal plain between Beirut and Sidon and the highest in the Bekaa. The infection, which is more frequent among children than adults, probably averages 25 to 50 per cent in the country as a whole. Enterobiasis and trichuriasis are common, but strongyloidiasis is relatively rare.

Taeniasis, caused by the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is second to ascariasis in prevalence. The infection rates range from 5 to 15 per cent in different localities, but are highest in the vicinity of towns and cities, where the consumption of beef exceeds that in the rural villages. The use of raw meat in the preparation of the popular national dish, *kubi*, is a factor in the spread of the disease. Infection with the pork tapeworm, *T. solium*, is sometimes seen in the Christian communities. The dwarf tapeworm, *Hymenolepis nana*, is encountered occasionally, especially in children.

Echinococcosis is sporadic. The prevalence of the disease in the general population is not known, but it apparently is far from negligible. According to the records of the American University hospital in Beirut, 140 persons, mainly from Lebanon and Syria, were treated for hydatid disease in the 22 years 1926-48. The rate of canine infection is high throughout most of this region. The examination of 237 stray dogs, collected on the streets of Beirut in the summer of 1948,[20] revealed that about 33 per cent harbored adult forms of *Echinococcus granulosus*. Surveys have also demonstrated the presence of hydatid cysts in a large percentage of the meat animals slaughtered in the abattoirs in Beirut. In

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Other Infections. Pneumonia and influenza are common. A serious epidemic of influenza occurred in 1950, in which over 2,000 known cases were recorded between February and June and over 800 in the month of March. 164

[illegible] endemic and frequently epidemic. Scarlet fever is rare. A high degree of immunity is apparently acquired at an early age by the local inhabitants, since repeated surveys, using the Dick test, have shown that the rate of susceptibility to scarlet fever toxins is low in adolescents and adults. In a Dick test study carried out in 1948[24] on 838 children, from 5 to 14 years of age, in different schools in Beirut, negative reactions were obtained in 72 per cent. The number of children giving a positive reaction to the toxin decreased gradually from 25 per cent at 6 to 7 years of age to 8 per cent at 12 to 14 years of age. 761

Poliomyelitis is normally sporadic, and the first widespread outbreak was reported in 1952. In the 3 months from June to September, 55 cases and 9 deaths were recorded from various parts of the country. Over 78 per cent of the cases were among children under 3 years of age. Rheumatic fever is prominent among the diseases of childhood. 164

Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

Venereal Diseases. Venereal diseases are widely distributed, but little information is available regarding their prevalence in the general population. Syphilis and gonorrhea predominate, but all forms of venereal disease are encountered, especially in Beirut, which is a center for traffic from the east and the west.

Diseases of the Eyes. Trachoma is a major public health problem in sections of southern Lebanon, where a large percentage of the people live in small and often remote villages and the standards of living and sanitation are generally low. The extent of infection varies in different localities, but 164 571 369

in some villages at least 80 per cent of the inhabitants are affected. The disease is encountered less frequently in the north, except in certain congested quarters of Beirut and Tripoli, which house large numbers of workers from the south. In most areas, a higher rate of infection prevails among the Moslem communities than among the Christian. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Public Health, the incidence has decreased appreciably since 1943. A total of 3,843 cases was reported in 1949, in contrast with over 6,000 cases in 1943. The recorded cases, however, represent a small fraction of the actual prevalence. In a study of roughly 180,000 cases from all parts of the country, undertaken by doctors from the American University of Beirut in 1950,[41] the infection rates were estimated at 40 per cent in South Lebanon, 15 per cent in the Bekaa, 10 per cent in North Lebanon and 5 per cent in Mount Lebanon. They averaged 5 per cent in Beirut district, but reached 20 per cent in some of the poorer quarters of the city.

Acute conjunctivitis is widespread from June to December, and particularly between August and October, when the flies are abundant. About two thirds of the cases are usually attributed to infection with *Hemophilus conjunctivitidis* (Koch-Weeks bacillus). A large proportion of the remainder are of pneumococcal origin. Cases of gonococcal conjunctivitis are relatively infrequent.

A special hospital for the treatment of trachoma and other eye diseases has recently been established by the health authorities at Tebnin, an important focus of trachoma in South Lebanon. Measures for the improvement of sanitary conditions are also being carried forward in many villages.

Diseases of the Skin. Mycotic infections, especially favus and ringworm of the scalp or the skin, are common. The majority of cases of dermatophytosis are caused by *Achorion schoenleini*, *Trichophyton violaceum* or *T. gypseum*. Lupus is sometimes seen in the dermatology clinics.

752 Cases of impetigo are numerous, often
511 following lesions produced by the irritating
369 effects of the sun. Scabies and pediculosis
515 are encountered in the crowded sections of the cities and in the poorer rural villages. Both were widely distributed during the war years 1941-46, when the scarcity of soaps and clothing contributed to increased unhygienic conditions. Cases of human mylasis are observed occasionally.

164 Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic, and cases
369 are reported sporadically. Thirty-one cases were known to exist in Lebanon in 1950. Of this number, 7 were located in South Lebanon and 11 in the Hermil area of the northern Bekaa, while 13 were irregularly distributed throughout the rest of the country. With the exception of one 17-year-old boy in Beirut, all the cases were from rural communities. No young children were included, and most of the affected individuals were over 25 years of age. Clinically, about 75 to 80 per cent of the cases were lepro-
164 matous in type. There is no hospital for the
743 treatment of leprosy in Lebanon, but pa-
744 tients are sent at government expense to the leprosarium at Douma, near Damascus.

Leprosy in Lebanon. Areas of Greatest Prevalence

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to about 6,000 in 1948; the deaths from 132 to 26.

Malaria is present in over one third of the territory, while the highest transmission rates are found in the rural villages situated near swamps or watercourses. The intensity of infection varies with the geography and the social and the agricultural development of the district, as well as with the volume of spring rainfall, factors which govern the breeding of the primary vectors, *Anopheles sacharovi*, *A. superpictus* and *A. claviger*. Hyperendemic foci exist chiefly in the Bekaa valley and in portions of the littoral, but active transmission also takes place in scattered localities in the mountains up to elevations of 2,700-3,000 feet. The malaria season extends from May to December, with *Plasmodium vivax* predominating in the spring and the summer, and *P. falciparum* in the late summer and the fall. *P. malariae* is encountered in a relatively small proportion of the cases. *P. ovale* was identified in 1945,[7] but the presence of this species has not been confirmed, and many authorities doubt that it is indigenous.

Malaria control work, involving drainage projects, antilarval measures and the distribution of antimalarial drugs, has been carried on by governmental and other agencies for several years. Since 1946-47, supplementary programs, based upon residual spraying in the towns and the villages with DDT preparations or Gammexane, have been undertaken by the Ministry of Public Health in the littoral and certain highly malarious inland districts. No co-ordinated surveys have been attempted, but a considerable reduction in prevalance is apparent.[7] In accumulated studies made by different observers prior to 1947, covering 175 representative communities in all 4 provinces, the spleen rates in children were estimated at 50 per cent or more in 22 villages. They ranged from 25 to 49 per cent in 61 villages, from 11 to 24 per cent in 85, and from zero to 10 per cent in 7. However, in limited surveys of 41 rural villages subsequently undertaken by the *caza* (district)

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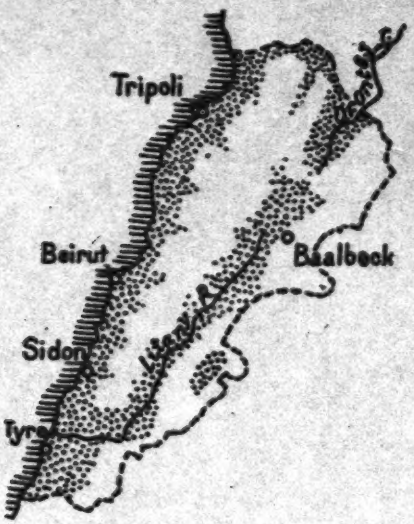

Distribution of Malaria in Lebanon

doctors of the Ministry in December, 1950, the spleen rate exceeded 50 per cent in only 3 villages, both in the Bekaa. It was less than 10 per cent in 23 villages, and ranged from 11 to 24 per cent in 13 and from 25 to 49 per cent in 3. Splenic indices of 3 to 35 per cent were observed in 8 villages studied in Mount Lebanon, where rates of 30 to 80 per cent had been recorded previously. Similarly, the rates in 6 villages in North Lebanon ranged from 6 to 44 per cent in 1950, as against 14 to 68 per cent in the surveys prior to 1947. The spleen rates for 7 villages in South Lebanon varied from 5 to 16 per cent in 1950 and from 32 to 83 per cent prior to 1947. The 1950 rates for 6 villages in the Bekaa ranged from 5 to 31 per cent; the rates recorded before 1947, from 20 to 80 per cent. Reductions of 35 to 49 per cent were noted in Deir el Acheir, Ammik and Saidi, villages with initial indices of 68 to 80 per cent.[58]

Beirut and the surrounding suburbs are now relatively free from malaria. Some transmission takes place in the communities along the river, but the spleen rates probably do not reach 10 per cent, even in the most malarious sectors. As of 1951, major

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164 369 foci of malaria persisted in the 'Akkar plain, in sections of the northern and the southern Bekaa and in scattered districts in the Lebanon mountains. A malaria survey, to implement and correlate the previous studies, and a demonstration control program were inaugurated in 1951 by the Ministry, in co-operation with the World Health Organization.

164 571 369 **Rickettsial Infections.** Louse-borne typhus apparently is not endemic, but occasional outbreaks have been recorded, usually during periods of social distress. Infestation with lice is common among the inhabitants in the poorer urban and rural districts, and minor epidemics have followed the introduction of the disease from surrounding areas in the Near East. No cases were reported during the war years 1941-45, and the widespread employment of DDT sprays in the towns and the villages has materially reduced the danger of infection. Murine typhus is indigenous, however. Sporadic cases are observed from all parts of the country, the majority of which occur during the summer months, from July through September. The disease is typically mild, with a comparatively low fatality rate. The actual prevalence is unknown, due to the general confusion in diagnosis and the lack of facilities for laboratory confirmation outside Beirut. The causative agent, *Rickettsia mooseri*, has been isolated from rats captured in Beirut. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, is the vector.

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Cases of fièvre boutonneuse are sometimes reported, in which the dog tick, *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, is the probable vector. Since the diagnosis has been established primarily in hospitals in Beirut, the extent and the distribution of the infection are uncertain.

Plague. Serious outbreaks of plague have been recorded in the past, but only sporadic cases have been reported since the early 1930s. The last case, a bubonic infection, was seen in 1947 in a village on the outskirts of Beirut. Many local authorities believe that the infection exists among the wild

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scribed from Djounieh, on the coast about 30 miles north of Beirut. Microfilaria, supposedly of *Wuchereria bancrofti*, were found in the blood of 3 cases, while the fourth showed symptoms of hydrocele. Local authorities believe that the infection was introduced by African troops stationed in the area during World War II. Potential Culex vectors are abundant. 164

Nutritional Diseases

Undernutrition is seen predominantly among the children in the congested urban districts and in the poorer villages, where poverty, ignorance and, sometimes, intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Nutritional diseases are relatively rare, but subclinical manifestations of avitaminosis are frequent. Rickets is often observed in South Lebanon: cases are attributed to the fact that many children are improperly fed and are confined indoors for long periods while their parents are at work in the fields. 146 369 611

Goiter is endemic in the vicinity of Zahle and Djezzin. Cases of cretinism are occasionally encountered. 146

Miscellaneous Conditions

Sporadic outbreaks of infectious hepatitis are reported, usually in the late summer or the fall. Children are primarily affected, but all age groups are represented in the various epidemics. Cases of encephalitis lethargica are diagnosed from time to time. 164

Q fever is enzootic among the livestock, and undoubtedly exists to some degree in the general population. In studies from the bacteriology department of the American University of Beirut,[41] a large proportion of positive reactions were obtained in complement fixation tests on blood serum samples from sheep, goats and cattle received from various countries in the Near East. In the serums collected from animals in Beirut, positive reactions were obtained in 25 per cent of 228 sheep tested, in 34 per cent of 134 goats and in 8 per cent of 97 cattle. The reaction rates with the serums from smaller numbers of animals from Tripoli